

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 10636 01 OF 02 280715Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 DHA-02 IO-13 /078 W  
-----109468 280722Z /21/40

R 271324Z JUL 77

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5016  
INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY KABUL  
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU  
CINCPAC  
AMCONSUL BOMBAY  
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA  
AMCONSUL MADRAS

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 10636

CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, IN  
SUBJ: POLITICS FOUR MONTHS AFTER THE ELECTION

SUMMARY. IN THE FOUR MONTHS SINCE IT CAME TO POWER, THE  
JANATA GOVERNMENT HAS ENJOYED AN EXTENDED HONEYMOON.  
THE EXUBERANCE PRODUCED BY THE CONGRESS DEFEAT AND ENDING  
OF THE EMERGENCY TENDED TO MUTE CRITICISM OF THE NEW  
LEADERS. SIMILARLY, JANATA'S PREOCCUPATIONS WITH SUCH  
PRESSING POLITICAL TASKS AS CONDUCTING ASSEMBLY ELEC-  
TIONS AND ELECTING ITS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE CREATED  
A CERTAIN WILLINGNESS TO SPARE THE GOVERNMENT CRITICISM  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 10636 01 OF 02 280715Z

FOR ITS DELAY IN FORMULATING NEW POLICIES. IT IS  
INCREASINGLY EVIDENT, HOWEVER, THAT THIS HONEYMOON  
MAY BE ENDING. THE PARTY'S CONTINUING SQUABBLES APPAR  
TO SOME OBSERVERS TO BE NO MERE "TEETHING TROUBLES" BUT  
RATHER A SIGN OF MORE FUNDAMENTAL AND SERIOUS DIVISIONS.  
THESE INTERNECINE PROBLEMS ARE MOST EVIDENT IN THE  
STATES WHERE JANATA CAME TO POWER AFTER THE ASSEMBLY

ELECTIONS. THE WIDELY REPORTED DIVISION OF SPOILS BETWEEN THE BLD AND JANA SANGH GROUPS AND THE SQUABBLES OVER DISTRIBUTING STATE CABINET SEATS HAVE CREATED BITTERNESS AMONG THE JANATA ELEMENTS WHICH WERE ALLEGEDLY LEFT OUT. IT IS NOT CLEAR TO WHAT EXTENT THIS APPARENT BLD/JANA SANGH CONDOMINIUM IS LIKELY TO BE A LASTING ARRANGEMENT OR JUST A TEMPORARY MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE.

ALTHOUGH THESE STATE-LEVEL DIVISIONS DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE REACHED THE CENTER TO ANY GREAT EXTENT, MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THE SITUATION COULD CHANGE AND PREDICT THAT THE BLD/JANA SANGH "CAUCUS" WILL INEVITABLY TRY TO CAPTURE AND DOMINATE THE CENTRAL PARTY ORGANIZATION AND THE GOVERNMENT. EVENTUALLY, SO THE THEORY GOES, THE JANA SANGH WITH ITS DISCIPLINED CADRE WOULD COME TO DOMINATE THE JANATA, AND JANATA'S OTHER COMPONENTS WOULD QUIT AND JOIN THE CONGRESS (AFTER MRS GANDHI'S OUSTER) TO FORM A "NEW", "REBORN" CONGRESS PARTY. WE BELIEVE THAT IF SUCH A CHAIN OF DEVELOPMENTS OCCURS IT IS STILL A LONG WAY OFF. STILL, PREDICTIONS THAT THE JANATA IS ONLY AN INTERMEDIATE STAGE IN A LONG-TERM REALIGNMENT OF POLITICAL FORCES ARE LIKELY TO PERSIST AND MAY THEMSELVES INFLUENCE THE CONDUCT OF INDIAN POLITICS. END SUMMARY.

1. FOUR MONTHS HAVE NOW PASSED SINCE THE JANATA GOVERNMENT TOOK OFFICE IN THE HEADY EUPHORIA OF ITS LANDMARK VICTORY IN THE ARCH LOK SABHA ELECTION. TO A SIGNIFICANT EXTENT, THESE FOUR MONTHS HAVE BEEN AN EXTENDED HONEYMOON FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT. THE PROFOUND SENSE OF EXUBERANCE AND RELIEF WHICH THE DOWNFALL OF MRS GANDHI AND THE END OF THE EMERGENCY PRODUCED TENDED TO MUTE CRITICISM OF THE NEW LEADERS. THE DISPARATE CHARACTER OF THE JANATA LEADERSHIP ALSO SERVED TO PROLONG THE HONEYMOON PERIOD. OBSERVERS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT WOULD INEVITABLY TAKE TIME FOR A GROUP AS DIVERSE IN POLITICAL APPROACH AND BACKGROUND AS THE LEADERS OF JANATA TO FORM A COHESIVE PARTY AND DEVELOP BROADLY ACCEPTED POLICIES. THE POLITICAL PREOCCUPATIONS OF THE PARTY--PREPARATIONS FOR STATE ELECTIONS, SELECTION AFTER THEIR SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF NEW CHIEF MINISTERS AND STATE CABINETS, THE CHOICE OF A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE--ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO A SEEMING WILLINGNESS TO SPARE THE NEW GOVERNMENT THE HARSH CRITICISM WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN LEVELLED AGAINST IT FOR ITS EVIDENT DELAY IN DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING NEW POLICIES.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 10636 01 OF 02 280715Z

MENT TOOK OFFICE IN THE HEADY EUPHORIA OF ITS LANDMARK VICTORY IN THE ARCH LOK SABHA ELECTION. TO A SIGNIFICANT EXTENT, THESE FOUR MONTHS HAVE BEEN AN EXTENDED HONEYMOON FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT. THE PROFOUND SENSE OF EXUBERANCE AND RELIEF WHICH THE DOWNFALL OF MRS GANDHI AND THE END OF THE EMERGENCY PRODUCED TENDED TO MUTE CRITICISM OF THE NEW LEADERS. THE DISPARATE CHARACTER OF THE JANATA LEADERSHIP ALSO SERVED TO PROLONG THE HONEYMOON PERIOD. OBSERVERS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT WOULD INEVITABLY TAKE TIME FOR A GROUP AS DIVERSE IN POLITICAL APPROACH AND BACKGROUND AS THE LEADERS OF JANATA TO FORM A COHESIVE PARTY AND DEVELOP BROADLY ACCEPTED POLICIES. THE POLITICAL PREOCCUPATIONS OF THE PARTY--PREPARATIONS FOR STATE ELECTIONS, SELECTION AFTER THEIR SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF NEW CHIEF MINISTERS AND STATE CABINETS, THE CHOICE OF A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE--ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO A SEEMING WILLINGNESS TO SPARE THE NEW GOVERNMENT THE HARSH CRITICISM WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN LEVELLED AGAINST IT FOR ITS EVIDENT DELAY IN DEVELOPING AND IMPLEMENTING NEW POLICIES.

2. THERE IS INCREASING EVIDENCE NOW THAT THIS HONEYMOON

PERIOD IS COMING TO AN END. WITH THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OUT OF THE WAY, THE CALL IS BECOMING MORE PRO- NOUNCED FOR CONCRETE POLITICS WHICH WILL DISTINGUISH THE NEW GOVERNMENT FROM THE OLD PRE-EMERGENCY CONGRESS REGIME. THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS WITHIN JANATA HAVE ALSO COME TO BE VIEWED IN A DIFFERENT LIGHT. THE ACCEPT- ANCE OF INTRAPARTY PROBLEMS AS INEVITABLE "TEETHING ROUBLES" TO BE OVERCOME IN TIME APPEARS TO HAVE GIVEN WAY TO AN APPREHENSION THAT THE DIVISIONS AMONG JANATA'S FORMER CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS ARE SHARPENING AND COULD EVENTUALLY LEAD TO A SPLIT WITHIN THE PARTY.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 10636 02 OF 02 271832Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 DHA-02 IO-13 /078 W  
-----099636 271929Z /40

R 271324Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5017  
INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
AMEMBASSY DACCA  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY KABUL  
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU  
CINCPAC  
AMCONSUL BOMBAY  
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA  
AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NEW DELHI 10636

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

3. THESE PARTY PROBLEMS ARE MOST EVIDENT AT THE STTE LEVEL. THE WIDELY REPORTED DIVISION OF SPOILS BETWEEN THE BHARATIYA LOK DAL ELEMENT AND THE JANA SANGH GROUP OF THE CHIEF MINISTERSHIPS OF STATES IN WHICH JANATA GOVERNMENTS WERE FORMED AFTER THE JUNE ELECTIONS, AND THE SQUABBLES OVER THE DISTRIBUTION OF STATE CABINET SEATS WHICH FOLLOWED EXACERBATED INTRAPARTY ANTAGONISMS AND LEFT BEHIND CONSIDERABLE FEELINGS OF BITTERNESS. IN SOME STATES THEY APPEAR TO HAVE LED TO THE FORMATION

OF WHAT COULD BE TERMED "HAVE" AND "HAVE NOT" FACTIONS BASED ON FORMER PARTY LINES, THE "HAVES" COMPRISING THE ALLIANCE OF THE BLD AND JANA SANGH, THE "HAVE NOTS" OTHER CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE JANATA WHICH HAVE INFORMALLY GROUPED TOGETHER IN SELF-DEFENSE. HOW  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 10636 02 OF 02 271832Z

DEEP THIS DIVISION IS, AND HOW LASTING IT IS LIKELY TO BE, IS NOT CLEAR. GIVEN THE OBVIOUS CONTRADICTIONS LIKELY TO SURFACE IN INDIA BETWEEN A PARTY PRIMARILY COMPRISING SMALL FARMERS (THE BLD) AND ONE BASED ON MIDDLE CLASS TOWN AND CITY DWELLERS, THE ARRANGEMENT SEEMS MORE LIKELY TO PROVE A MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE THAN ONE PROMPTED BY SHARED ATTACHMENT TO POLICIES. BUT MANY SUCH ARRANGEMENTS HAVE LASTED A LONG TIME IN INDIAN POLITICS, WHERE WHAT MATTERS TO THOSE WHO WORK THEM IS THE POWER OF OFFICE.

4. SO FAR THIS DIVISION DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE SPREAD TO THE CENTER TO ANY IMPORTANT EXTENT. MPJS IDENTIFY THEMSELVES BY THEIR FORMER PARTY LABELS, AND LOOK TO THEIR OLD PARTY CHIEFTAINS FOR LEADERSHIP, BUT THEY HAVE NOT BEEN MOBILIZED INTO THE SUBCOALITIONS WHICH SEEM TO BE FORMING AT THE STATE LEVEL. THE CABINET ITSELF HAS NOT DIVIDED INTO FACTIONS. HOME MINISTER CHARAN SINGH, OUTSPOKENLY AMBITIOUS AS HE IS, DOUBTLESS ENJOYS THE ALLEGIANCE OF HIS OLD BLD LIEUTENANT HEALTH MINISTER RAJ NARAIN, BUT THESE BLDERS DO NOT APPEAR TO BE IN LEAGUE WITH THE JANA SANGHIS IN THE CABINET. THE TWO HIGHLY REGARDED JANA SANGH GROUP MINISTERS, FOREIGN MINISTER A.B. VAJPAYEE, AND INFORMATION MINISTER L K ADVANI BOTH IN FACT APPEAR TO HAVE REMAINED ALOOF FROM PARTY SQUABBLES.

5. THIS COULD CHANGE, AND THERE ARE MANY OBSERVERS WHO BELIEVE IT WILL. THESE OBSERVERS, BEGINNING WITH THE PREMISE THAT THE JANATA'S INTERNAL COHESIVENESS IS NON-EXISTENT AND THAT OLD PARTY LOYALTIES ARE STRONGER THAN EVER, MAINTAIN THAT THE "CAUCUS" OF CENTER LEADERS WHO DIVIDED THE STATE SPOILS--PRIMARILY JANA SANGH  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 10636 02 OF 02 271832Z

ORGANIZER NANAJI DESHMUKH AND, ON THE BLD SIDE, CHARAN SINGH ABETTED BY RAJ NARAIN--WILL INEVITABLY TRY TO DOMINATE THE CENTER JUST AS THEY SUCCEEDED IN GAINING CONTROL OVER THE JANATA STATE GOVERNMENTS, A FIRST

STEP IN WHAT SOME REGARD AS A CAREFULLY WORKED OUT PROGRAM. THE NEXT STEP, ACCORDING TO THIS THEORY, IS THE CAPTURE OF THE JANATA PARTY MACHINERY THROUGH THE UPCOMING ORGANIZATIONAL ELECTIONS IN WHICH THE JANA IOANGH/RSS CADRE WOULD ENSURE THE ELECTION OF THEIR LOYALISTS FROM THE GRASS ROOTS LEVEL UPWARD. IN THE LATER STAGES, CHARAN SINGH WOULD SUCCEED MORARJI AS PRIME MINISTER WITH THE BACKING OF THE JANA SANGH. IN THE END, HOWEVER, THE SANGH--ITH ITS DISCIPLINED AND DEDICATED LOCAL LEVEL CADRE--WOULD EVENTUALLY DOMINATE THE JANATA ALONE. AN EXTENSION OF THIS THEORY HAS IT THAT THE OTHER COMPONENTS OF THE JANATA WOULD EVENTUALLY LEAVE THE PARTY AND JOIN WITH THE CONGRESS (AFTER THE OUSTER OF MRS GANDHI AND HER ASSOCIATES) TO FORM A "NEW" CONGRESS PARTY.

6. OUR OWN ASSESSMENT AT THIS TIME IS THAT IF SUCH A CHAIN OF DEVELOPMENTS EVER DOES OCCUR IT IS STILL A LONG WAY OFF. THERE ARE OBVIOUSLY MANY FACTORS WORKING AGAINST SUCH A SCENARIO: THE CONTINUING STRONG POSITION OF THE PM (WHO APPEARS TO TAKE NO ACTIVE INTEREST IN INTERNECINE PARTY WARFARE AND PREFERS AN ELDER STATESMAN'S ROLE); THE AWARENESS THAT PUBLIC OPINION IS LIKELY TO GO AGAINST THOSE WHO SEEK TO BREAK UP JANATA; THE LIKELIHOOD OF J P NARAYAN'S MODERATING ROLE; THE FACT THAT FOR MOST IN JANATA THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT IS MORE COMFORTABLE AND LESS RISKY THAN AN ENGINEERED SPLIT IN THE PARTY; THE CONTINUED CONTROL OF CONGRESS BY MRS GANDHI (MAKING IT "UNTOUCHABLE" FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF POTENTIALLY SECEDING JANATA GROUPS), ARE AMONG THEM. BUT FORECASTS OF A JANATA SPLIT, AND THEORIES THAT THE PARTY IS ONLY AN INTERMEDIATE STAGE TOWARD A MORE STABLE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NEW DE 10636 02 OF 02 271832Z

AND LOGICAL ALIGNMENT ARE LIKELY TO PERSIST, AND WILL THEMSELVES INFLUENCE THE CONDUCT OF INDIAN POLITICS.

GOHEEN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** CABINET, POLITICAL STABILITY, ELECTION RESULTS, RULING PARTY, PERSONNEL APPOINTMENTS, LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION, POLITICAL SUMMARIES  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 27-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977NEWDE10636  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770291-0396, D770269-0367  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** NEW DELHI  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770714/aaaaalqj.tel  
**Line Count:** 265  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 9c10f762-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION NEA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 09-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 1734690  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** POLITICS FOUR MONTHS AFTER THE ELECTION SUMMARY. IN THE FOUR MONTHS SINCE IT CAME TO POWR, THE JANATA GOVERNMENT HAS ENJOYED AN EXTENDED HONEYMOON  
**TAGS:** PINT, PGOV, PDEV, IN  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/9c10f762-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

